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ABSTRACT

An excerpt from the "Play of the Congos," given in Congo, Spanish, and English, exemplifies the sociolinguistic features of the combined play and ritual language used by the Afro-Hispanic population in the Caribbean region of the Costa Abajo in north-central Panama. The sociolinguistic norms are an important part of the "regulation of the play," and a pragmatic knowledge of the language is required of the key players who undertake the important responsibility of enacting the "Play of the Negroes." Understanding this language unites not only the players but all Afro-Hispanics in the region as one speech community. The play-ritual language is based on the participants' native language, a variety of Spanish, but it also distinguishes the Afro-Hispanic population at the rivers' mouths from the up-river Hispanic-Indigenous people with whom they otherwise share Spanish. It is learned by children in the same sociolinguistic process by which the base language is learned. Although it is intended in the play to conceal meaning, it allows for an interpreter to assure that a social message is communicated. The majority of players now have no conscious association between the play and historical past. Semantic and syntactic processes of the language suggest links with creole and West African languages, and are significant among ritual-play languages for their structure and semantic contrasts. (MSE)

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THE RITUAL "PLAY OF THE CONGOS" OF NORTH-CENTRAL PANAMA: ITS SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

The following excerpt from the "Play of the Congos," given in Congo, Spanish, and English, exemplifies the play and ritual language used by the Afro-Hispanic population in the Caribbean region of the Costa Abajo (Lower Coast) in north-central Panama (Fig. 1). This paper describes the most salient sociolinguistic features of this language, as spoken in the settlements of Boca de Río Indio, Gobea, and Miguel de la Borda, at the mouths of the rivers of the same names respectively.[2] The sociolinguistic norms are an important part of the "regulation of the play" referred to in the following excerpt. A pragmatic knowledge of the language is required of the key players who undertake the "responsible commitment" of enacting the "Play of the Negroes." Understanding this language unites not only the players but all Afro-Hispanics in this region as one speech community.

This play and ritual language is based on the native language of the participants. The native language is the particular variety of Spanish spoken by the inhabitants of this region who include two major groups of people. At the mouths of the rivers and for about five kilometers upriver live the playeros (beach people), whose ancestry leads to African slaves brought to the Americas. Further upriver into the mountains live the naturales (natives) of Indian ancestry. As a result of Spanish colonialism and miscegenation, both groups are Spanish speakers who share the following major characteristics of a regional dialect: the use of colonial Spanish words; the frequent use of proverbs; the tendency to accentuate the antepenultimate syllable in verbs inflected for the first person plural in the present tense of the imperfect subjunctive, as trabájemos for trabajémos (let's work); the use of [l] as an allophone of the phoneme /r/, as in puelta for puerta (door); and the deletion of the /d/ in words ending in

CONGO

PUJURETE: Güene, poque ya eso mi meno siempe,
cuando ya mi so la nuevecite que mi meno útimo.
Ya ete mi so lo rurumento delle.
Y entonso masoto mi sigo la mime rurumento
que mi meno tora la sumana.
Po lo meno ahoro, masoto mi weve la otu sumana.
Mi co Gubé, mi weve otu.
Ya elle mimito como masoto, mi weyo.
Entonce mi mino con la mimo rurumento mi weye,
weweande la mime crosa.
Ya eso mi so uno custumbre, como mi diso masoto.
Uno custumbre que mi so...¿Cómo mi diso oro?
Uno rurumento entonso.

JOROPRANGO: Uno rurumento.

PUJURETE: Mime y eso so la crosa.
Güene, mu ora.

JOROPRANGO: Ahoro, si masoto mi teno una Barachate raspransable,
mi teno rurumento.

PUJURETE: Mime.

JOROPRANGO: Pero si mi teno una Barachate raspransable a Nengre,
me tene rurumento de la wewie de la Nengre.
¿Po qué so?
Poque Barachate mi sobra útimo de masoto;
Barachate la útimo.
Barachatite mi sobra ra pramero.
Pujurete mi sobra la seis.
Y Joroprango mi sobra ocho.
So que me teno compramiso con la Nengre.
Y si masoto mi cumpu la rugumento de la Nengre,
me teno Nengre en la tareno de masoto.

PAJARITO: Bueno, porque ya eso viene de siempre
cuando ya eran los nuevecitos (viejos) que vinieron de último (primero).
Ya este es el reglamento de ellos.
Y entonces nosotros seguimos el mismo reglamento,
cuando venimos todas las semanas (todos los años).
Lo mismo Gobea, regresarán otra vez.
Ya ellos son mismito como nosotros, ellos juegan.
Entonces venimos con el mismo reglamento del juego,
jugando la misma cosa.
Ya eso es una costumbre, como decimos nosotros.
Una costumbre que es...¿Cómo dijimos ahora?
Un reglamento entonces.

AEROPLANO: Un reglamento .

PAJARITO: Sí y eso es la cosa.
Bueno, tú aho a.

AEROPLANO: Ahora, si nosotros tenemos un Borrachote responsable,
tenemos reglamento.

PAJARITO: Sí.

AEROPLANO: Pero si tenemos un Borrachote responsable de los Negros,
tenemos reglamento del Juego de los Negros.
¿Por qué es así?
Porque Borrachote sobra último (es el primero) de nosotros;
Borrachote el último (primero).
Borrachito sobra el primero (es el segundo).
Pajarito sobra el seis (es el tercero).
Y Aeroplano sobra ocho (es el quarto).
Son los que tienen el compromiso con los Negros.
Y si nosotros cumplimos el reglamento de los Negros,
tenemos Negros en el terreno de nosotros.

BIRDIE: Well, because that comes from always;
when the new (old) ones came last (first).
Already that was their regulation.
And then we follow the same regulation
when we come every week (year).
At least now, we will return next week (year).
The same in Gobea; they will return again.
They are the same as us, they play.
Then we come with the same regulation of the play,
playing the same thing.
That is a custom, as we say.
A custom that is...How did we say it now?
A regulation then.

AIRPLANE: A regulation.

BIRDIE: Yes and that is the thing.
Well, you now.

AIRPLANE: Now, if we have a responsible Drunkard,
then we have a regulation.

BIRDIE: Yes.

AIRPLANE: But if we have a Drunkard responsible for the Negroes,
then we have a regulation of the Play of the Negroes.
Why is it so?
Because Drunkard is the last (first) of us;
Drunkard is the last (first).
Little Drunkard exceeds first (is second).
Birdie exceeds the six (is third).
And Airplane exceeds the eight (is fourth).
They have the commitment with the Negroes.
And if we comply with the regulation of the Negroes,
we have Negroes in our terrain.

{-da}, {-do}, {-de}, as in cochinaa for cochinada (dirtiness) or cuidao for cuidado (be careful) or puee for puede (can, may). The substitution of [ɹ] for /r/ and the deletion of the /d/ are sociolinguistic tendencies in Caribbean Spanish.

Each group, nevertheless, retains distinctive cultural traditions of their African and Indian pasts. The "Play of the Negroes" is an Afro-Hispanic oral tradition of the "beach people" that is not shared by the upriver "natives." The few "natives" who understand the play and ritual language are the outboard motorboat operators who are intermediaries between the two groups. Each group has different modes of participation and structural positions in the socio-economy of the region, even though there are intermarriages and other social interactions between them. The Afro-Hispanics dominate the political bureaucracy and truck transportation; the Hispanic-Indigenous produce agricultural products for use and market exchange (Joly 1978, 1979 a and b).

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC FEATURES

From the Eve of Saint Sebastian[3] on January 19 through Shrove or Fat Tuesday, Afro-Hispanics at various locations in Panama organize a ritual play known as the Juego de Congos (Play or Game of the Congos). A group of men and women assume symbolic names of roles in the ritual play. (See Table I for a list of symbolic names used by the ritual players in the three settlements studied.) The authorities issue an official permit to the lead male player to enact the play (Fig. II). A prominent site is selected to erect a thatched-roof, open house where the ritual players, and the community at large sing[4] and dance[5] to the beat of drums on weekends and during the four days of Carnival, that is, the Shrovetide. In the north-central Costa Abajo (down Coast) this house is called the purenque (palenque = stockade). In the northeastern Costa Arriba (upper coast) it is known as the palacio (palace) (Drolet, P. 1976, 1980).

The ritual play is not circumscribed to this house, however. A sequence of events are enacted throughout the season at various sites within the boundaries of the regular settlement that becomes an open stage, so to speak. In fact, all entrances to the settlement are patrolled or barricaded, and a tax is charged from non-residents to enter the settlement.

The dramatical events are "metonyms of historical narrative" (Smith 1975: 96-100). That is, they are condensed forms of a sequential historical narrative of experiences encountered by African slaves and their descendants on the Isthmus during the Spanish colonial period. They indeed follow the model of "encounters" proposed by Price (1973) and Mintz and Price (1976) as an anthropological approach to the Afro-American past. Some of the events have been historically documented. For example, the event known as La Pelea de la Caja de Plata (The Fight Over the Money Box), which is one of the acts performed on Shrove Tuesday, refers to the capture of some runaway slaves by a Spanish artillery captain, Don Cristobal Troyano de Leon, as has been documented by the Panamanian historian Roberto De la Guardia (1977:104-107).

It must be clarified that the dramatical events are performed as an oral tradition, without following any written script. There are various ways of learning this oral tradition. Older people[6] who performed the roles in the past give oral instructions and demonstrate to younger players who replace them how to perform the basic roles and events. Minor roles are training roles for major roles; for example, Little John of God-Little Drunkard is a training role for a young man who most likely will later in life play the principal male role of John of God-Drunkard. Although not offically recognized as players, children form play groups of their own and imitate the adult players.[7] Children, moreover, are allowed to participate in the activities within the ritual house.

Although the language of the ritual players has a Spanish base, some semantic and syntactic processes show evidences of a West African and Caribbean cultural matrix of creolization of languages arising out of cultural contact during the European slave trade (Alleyne 1977). First, there are a few words in the play-ritual language that have no etymological base in the Spanish language. Two of these words deserve particular attention because they have utmost socio-ecological significances: ñimi-ñimi (food) and jibre (river). It is posited that ñimi-ñimi is a reduplicated variant of njam (eat), which is found in Jamaican Creole, Gullah, Sranan, and other creole languages, and probably derives from njami, which means "to eat" in Fulani, a language spoken today in Guinea, Gambia, Senegal, and Mali (Trudgill 1974:179). The play-ritual word for river, jibre, may correspond to the Cubanism jigüe, which refers to naked, black, hairy

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dwarfs that come out of the river (Ortiz 1974:305). Afro-Hispanics in north-central Panama narrate myths of little black dwarfs called familiares (familiars), who serve as slaves, performing extraordinary labor tasks, in amazingly short periods of time, for people who have associations with the devil. Referring to Henry H. Johnston's A comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages (1919, in Ortiz 1974:305), Fernando Ortiz traces the etymology of the Cubanism jigüe to the Cameroons and the Calabar of West Africa, where jiwe refers to "monkey." According to Ortiz (ibid), the terms for "monkey," "devil," and "dwarf' have frequently been interchanged in Africa.

Second, the Congo play language proposes the particle mi before the verb. In some instances it connotes progressive or continuous aspect, at other times it is just a verb marker. This grammatical expansion corresponds to a similar process in other Caribbean Creole and West African languages whereby the particle de precedes the verb form (Trudgill 1979: 177). Examples in the ritual-play language are:

Joroprango mi wa purí con too nengre y macha que mi teno dikí.
Aeroplano se va por ahí con todos los negros y mujeres que tenemos aquí.
"Airplane goes around with all the Negroes and women that we have here."

Mungaña cuando mi so la ocha, mi mene Mutnanga la muntuña.
Manaña cuando son las ocho (cuarto), viene Matuanga de la montaña.
"Tomorrow when it is eight (four), Matuanga comes from the mountain."

Third, the Congo ritual-play language frequently reduplicates words and sentences. Reduplication is prevalent in Caribbean Creole and West African languages (Kephart, personal communication). Examples are:

ñimi-ñimi (food)
Maca-Maca (Masca-Masca = Chew-Chew, a male player)
Mema-Mema (Lleva-Lleva = Take-Take, a male player)

Ya Mutuanga mi tá maro, maro, maro; ya elle no mi sano.
Ya Matuanga está malo, malo, malo; ya él no se sanó.
(Ya Matuanga está bueno, bueno, bueno; ya él se sanó.)
"Matuanga is already bad, bad, bad; he already is not healed."
(Matuanga is already well, well, well; he is already healed.)

Fourth, as occurs in the pidginization and creolization of languages (Hymes 1977), the play-ritual language also reduces and simplifies grammar. Reduction in grammar, however, has likewise been reported for play languages (Sherzer 1976). The Congo ritual players reduce grammar by deleting minor or function words such as articles and prepositions, as well as intermediary words that straddle the content-function boundary such as pronouns. In some instances the deletion leads to contractions. Examples are:

La otu sumana mi jóndo otu chukere.
La otra semana (=año) (la) tiramos (en) otra casa.
"The next week (=year) (we) throw (it in) another house."

Mi mene Mutuanga la munuña.
Viene Matuanga (de) la montaña.
"Matuanga comes (from) the mountain."

Poque antonso la raspransabilidá mi so Joropranço.
Porque entonces la responsabilidad es (de) Aeroplano.
"Because then the responsibility is (of) Airplane."

matacareijo~matacareyo (maestra~o de colegio = highschool teacher)
Maderedá~Maguedá (Miguel de la Borda = name of river and settlement).

The play of the Congos can also be interpreted as a "ritual of status reversal" in which the roles of the players are reversals of normal socio-cultural roles (Turner 1977). It has been posited that antagonistic symbols and 'backward imitation" in ritual occur when members of two systems are in a state of conflict (Chapple and Coon 1942:542). Various incidents of conflict between African slaves and Spanish colonials as well as the socio-economic marginality of the descendants of African slaves in Panama have been historically documented (De la Guardia 1977; Figueroa Navarro 1978). This economic marginality of Afro-Hispanics is reflected in the quantitative values used in the play language. The numerical value in the base language is doubled, or exaggerated, in the play language. This raises economic status upward as a reversal of actual degradation.

The reversal of socio-economic status is particularly evident at noon

on Shrove Tuesday when the players enact the event known as La Medición del Terreno (The Mensuration of the Terrain). At this time, the players go around the regular settlement measuring all the houses and public buildings. Householders and officials in charge of public buildings are taxed and given a receipt for the mensuration. The receipt has a gurubato (garabato = scribble) done by Juan de Dioso~Barachate (Juan de Dios~Borrachote = John of God~Drunkard), the principle male player. The measurements are voiced out loud by Pujurete (Pajarito = Birdie), and either Drunkard or Birdie voice the fee to be charged. Concrete houses and public buildings are charged a higher fee than thatched, wooden houses. Householders and public officials argue with the players about the taxation. In the argument, the common folk use the regular variety of Spanish, mixed with a few play-ritual words. The players use only the ritual-play language. Each will understand the other during the interaction, however, as occurs in many bilingual interactions between speakers of different languages (Burns, n.d.). The following excerpt (pp. 10-13) from the 1980 mensuration at the settlement of Miguel de la Borda illustrates such an interaction.

There is also reversal of the sexes in the ritual play. For example, in the settlements studied the female players and all women in the regular community are called macha, the reverse of macho (male). Although the men are not called by a feminine term, teasing behavior by the common folk towards the male players reflects treatment of the male players as being effeminate. The favorite teasing game is called Culiar al Congo (Finger the Anus of the Congo). A common man inserts his finger or a stick between the buttocks of a male player, or jumps on the back of the player, or grabs the wooden mamprada~muchuta (espada~machete = sword~bushknife) of the player and hits the player on the buttocks. The buttocks are called the cara (face), and the hitting is referred to as masaquera (besuquera = kissing).

The male players will defend their masculinity and chastise or punish the offenders. The player will take the rope that he wears around his waist to strike the offender. The offender may be tied with the rope to the potro (untamed colt or foal). From this pole hangs an ant nest that is stirred so that the ants will fall on the penitent. The male players also defend their masculinity in the dancing within the ritual house.

PUJURETE: ¡Cunſ, Junite!

JUANITA: ¿Qué?

PUJURETE: Crúchoso la purawa de lo que mi tene la chakere de mutene en la tarengo de masoto.

JUANITA: ¡Ajá!

PUJURETE: Crúchoso.

JUANITA: ¿Qué cosa?

PUJURETE: Me teno la chakere de Junite y Cunſ en la tarengo de la Ntengre, mi teno sutuciento mango.

JUANITA: ¿Que qué!

PUJURETE: Con curenta suntſmetro, con uchenta pie.

JUANITA: ¿Qué cosa es?

PUJURETE: Con curenta purgaa de croto, con curuntucho suntſmetro de largo. Mi so curuntucinco suntabo murucano poque mi so Junite.

CUNI: Ya eso está medió ya.

BARACHATE: Po cunsuduración.

PUJURETE: Po cunsuduración curuntucinco, poque ahoro mi tene chakere de cancreto. Poque mi teno ahoro chakere de cancreto.

CUNI: ¿Tú sabe cuanto la chakere midió?

PUJURETE: Mime.

CUNI: Mitá de concreto y mitá de table. ¡Mira allí! ¡Vé!

PUJURETE: Ya mi so cancreto, mango ¡Güſtame, güſtame!

BARACHATITE: Güſtame que no mi tawa. ¡Chucha! ¡Mi so como una parástico que mi teno craso!

PUJURETE: ¿Uno diabro nu ma?

BARACHATITE: ¡Craso, craso, craso!

PUJURETE: Barachate, ¿qué mi so que mi angaro?

CUNI: ¿Me racibo mi wa da?

BARACHATE: Ya ese mi racibo útimo.

CUNI: Da so y da so.

BARACHATE: Elle mi di so que...

CUNI: Güeno, pero yo estoy pagando lo mío, güeno. Dásemo racibo.

BARACHATE: Pero si racibo no mi tabo dikí.

SPANISH

PAJARITO: ¡Cundí, Juanita!

JUANITA: ¿Qué?

PAJARITO: Escucha la palabra de lo que tiene la casa de ustedes en el terreno de nosotros.

JUANITA: ¡Ajá!

PAJARITO: Escucha.

JUANITA: ¿Qué cosa?

PAJARITO: Tiene la casa de Juanita y Cundí en el terreno de los Negros, tiene setecientas manos (pies).

JUANITA: ¡Que, qué!

PAJARITO: Con cuarenta centímetros, con ochenta pies (manos).

JUANITA: ¿Qué cosa es?

PAJARITO: Con cuarenta pulgadas de corto (largo), con cuarenta y ocho centímetros de largo (corto). Son cuarenta y cinco (veinticinco) centavos americanos porque eres Juanita.

CUNDI: Ya eso está medió ya

BORRACHOTE: Por consideración.

PAJARITO: Por consideración cuarenta y cinco, porque ahora tienen casa de concreto. Porque tienen ahora casa de concreto.

CUNDI: ¿Tú sabes cuanto la casa midió?

PAJARITO: Sí.

CUNDI: Mitad de concreto y mitad de tabla. ¡Mira allá! ¡Vé!

PAJARITO: Ya es de concreto, mano. ¡Aguaita, aguaita!

BORRACHITO: Aguaita que sí tiene. ¡Chucha! ¡Es como un palacio que tienen casi!

PAJARITO: ¿Un diablo (real) no más?

BORRACHITO: ¡Casi, casi, casi!

PAJARITO: Borrachote, ¿qué fue lo que agarraste?

CUNDI: ¿Mi recibo me vas a dar?

BORRACHOTE: Ya ese es mi recibo último (primero).

CUNDI: Dámelo y te doy.

BORRACHOTE: Ella me dijo que...

CUNDI: Bueno, pero yo estoy pagando lo mío, bueno. Dame el recibo.

BORRACHOTE: Pero se el recibo no (si) está aquí.

ENGLISH

BIRDIE: Cundi, Juanita!

JUANITA (Wife): What?

BIRDIE: Listen to the word of what your house has in our terrain?

JUANITA: Okay.

BIRDIE: Listen!

JUANITA: What thing?

BIRDIE: The house of Juanita and Cundi in the land of the Negroes has seven hundred hands (feet).

JUANITA: What what!

BIRDIE: With forty centimenters, with eighty feet (hands).

JUANITA: What is it?

BIRDIE: With forty inches in short (length), with forty-eight centimeters in length (short), It is forty-five (twenty-five) American cents because you are Juanita.

CUNDI (HUSBAND): That has already been measured.

Drunkard: In consideration.

BIRDIE: In consideration. Because now you have a concrete house. Because you have now a concrete house.

CUNDI: Do you know how much the house measured?

BIRDIE: Yes.

CUNDI: Half of concrete and half of wood. Look there! See!

BIRDIE: It is already concrete, brother. Look, look.

LITTLE DRUNKARD: Look that it does have.
Pussy! You almost have a palace!

BIRDIE: One devil (nickel) only!

LITTLE DRUNKARD: Almost, almost, almost!

BIRDIE: Drunkard, what is it that you got?

CUNDI: My receipt, give me.

DRUNKARD: That is my last (first) receipt.

CUNDI: Give me and I give you.

DRUNKARD: She told me that . . .

CUNDI: Well, but I am paying what is mine, well.
Give my receipt.

DRUNKARD: But the receipt I do not have here (I have the receipt here).

Like it ocrurs when the male players are teased as being effeminate, antonymy is physically expressed also in the play greeting. Instead of a handshake, the players interlock their legs while saying:

GREETING: ¿Come mi tawa? (¿Como estas? = How are you?)

REPLY: Proco proco juruntao. (Poco poco adelantado = Little little advanced.)

To be "Little little advanced" in itself is a reversal of the reply given in ordinary greetings: ~~aquí~~ entreverda/o (Here intermixed or interpolated), a colonial expression that means to be caught in between different things.

Semantic reversal in the ritual-play language, however, transcends the principle of antonymy and contrasts entities according to their hierarchical or qualitative differences within a taxonomic category. A similar form of contrast has been reported for the Australian tjilidiri ritual-play language (Hale 1971). Such tactics expand connotative and denotative meaning, opening the ritual-play language to wider horizons, making it more productive than normal referential discourse (Burns, personal communication). As with numbers, the Congo hierarchical and qualitative contrasts tend to go up in value, or reflect a tendency to exaggerate. Examples are:

durmiendo (sleeping)	⟶	soñando (soñando = dreaming)
palma de coco (coconut palm)	⟶	coco praya (coco de la playa = coconut of the beach)
cortado (cut)	⟶	trumpusao (traspasado = pierced)
flaco (skinny)	⟶	macaweso (masca hueso = bone chewer)
maestra/o de escuela primaria (primary school teacher)	⟶	matacareyo (maestra/o de colegio secundario = highschool teacher)
real (5¢ Spanish coin)	⟶	diabro murucano (diablo americano = American devil, nickel)

In the last example, diabro murucano (diablo americano = American devil), the monetary value is expanded to include a mythological value. Both Afro-Hispanic and Hispanic-Indigenous people in this region relate myths about people who became wealthy because they sell their souls to the devil in order to make money. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ritual-play word for five cents is "devil." Both groups retain the colonial method of counting money according to the equivalent number of five cent pieces. For example, twenty-five cents would be stated as cinco reales (five nickels). The ritual-play phrase further marks the change from a

Spanish-based monetary system to a United States (American)-based system, as the phrase includes the word murucano (americano = American). Historically, this is precisely what occurred in the economic system of Panama. Examples:

Dásemo cuatra diabro certo deí.
Dame cuatro diablos (dos reales) vuelto de ahí.
"Give me four devils (two nickels) change from that."

Mi so seis diabro murucano pu cunsudruación mutene.
Son seis diablos (tres reales) americanos por consideración a usted.
"It is six American devils (three nickels) in consideration for you."

In other cases, however, the value is reduced as in año "year" ⟶ sumana (semana) "week." This shortening of time may be due to the fact that the ritual-play occurs only once a year for a few weeks. Reduction in time may convey a sense of continuity and a reassurance that the ritual players will return from Gané-Gané (Guiana) which is the mythological place where they come from and return to every year.

Statements intended to be affirmative in meaning are contrasted in the Congo ritual-play language by the use of negative no singly or in combination with antonymy. The addition of the negative no to precede a verb is the most common and simple process in the Congo play language to convey an affirmative meaning. Examples are:

De too que no mi teno: chufé, mucánico.
De todo que no (si) tenemos: chofer, mecánico.
"Everything that we do not have (do have): chauffeur, mechanic."

Turuvía no mi frato otu marajencia.
Todavía no (si) nos falta otra diligencia.
"Still we are not missing another business (we are still missing)."

Negation plus antonymy is likewise used to realize a positive meaning. This is accomplished by using the negative no in conjunction with a verb that has a negative semantic content like perder "to lose." The intended meaning is that of the positive antonym of the verb, that is ganar "to win," as in the following example:

Ahoro, si Munducián no me an pradío a masoto,
elle mi wa con la cujete de manere.

Y si masoto no me an pradío a Mundución,
masoto angara la cujete de manere y mi wa a otu chukere.

Ahora, si las Maldiciones no nos pierden a nosotros (nos ganan),
ellas se van con la cajeta de dinero.
Y si nosotros no perdemos (ganamos) a las Maldiciones,
nosotros agarramos la cajeta de dinero y la llevamos a otra casa.

"Now, if the Damnations do not loose us (win us),
they go with the money box.
And if we do not lose (win) the Damnations,
we take the money box and place it in another house."

Thus far examples of the ritual-play language have been cited without explaining the morphophonemic changes from the base Spanish. This has been purposely done to highlight the socio-cultural implications, since the semantic content takes precedence over morphophonemic structure in the ritual-play language. Although certain morphophonemic changes are made, the basic canonic shape of words and the syntactic structure of Spanish remains essentially the same so that the symbolic meaning of the words and sentences prevails. At the same time, it was intended to convey an initial feeling for the sounds of the ritual-play language. This is the way Afro-Hispanics are socialized into the play language, without anyone explaining the "regulations of the play." It is a sociolinguistic process similar to learning their native language: hearing, seeing, imitating, speaking within a speech community. It is plausible, therefore, that some words are memorized rather than generated by morphophonemic rules. The players, however, do not memorize verses or dialogues as in a theatrical drama but improvise their performance according to behavior expected of their roles. Good players are those who are witty in improvisation.

The more salient morphophonemic features will now be described. It must be noted, however, that there is variation among the players, even among those regarded as the best Congo speakers by the standards of the Afro-Hispanic speech community. Variation raises the question whether "there is a corresponding variation in native speaker linguistic models, from the perspective of both the individual speaker and the speech community at large" (Sherzer 1976:33); or, whether variation is "systematic"

or "unsystematic" as has been discussed for pidgin or creole languages (Labov 1977). To answer these questions, more comparative data is needed to contrast the Congo ritual-play language with the base regional variety of Spanish, with sociolinguistic tendencies in Caribbean Spanish, and with Spanish-based creole languages such as the Palenquero of northern Colombia (Escalante 1964; Bickerton and Escalante 1970).

Certain morphophonemic processes in the Congo play-ritual language suggest correspondences with the examples of Palenquero given by Bickerton and Escalante (1970), as follows:

Congo Play-Ritual Language	Palenquero
cucunando (cocinando = cooking)	kusina (kosina = kitchen)
mene (viene =comes)	mini (ven = come)
elle (elle-él = she-he)	ele (ella-él = she-he)
masoto (nosotros = we us our)	suto (nosotros = we-us-our)
crúchoso (escucha = listen)	kuchá (escucha = listen)
güene-wene (bueno = good)	güeno (bueno = good)

As reported by Bickerton and Escalante (ibid.:255), many speakers of Palenquero left their community of El Palenque de San Basilio in Colombia to seek work in the Panama Canal. According to the oral history of Afro-Hispanics in north-central Panama, black West Indians and Colombians settled among them after having worked in the construction of the Panama Canal.

The most common morphophonemic change in the Congo ritual-play language is to use the vowels /u/ or /a/ as substitutes for the vowel(s) in the first syllable of the base word. Frequently, there is the tendency to harmonize this change by also substituting /u/ or /a/ for the vowel(s) in the second or subsequent syllables except the last syllable in the base language. There is free variation among the players when using /u/ or /a/ as substitutes for other vowels except themselves, in which case each substitutes for the other or each remains unaffected. The substitutions can be expressed by the following canonic shapes:

#V-CV-CV#	⟶	#u~a-CV-CV#
#CV-CV-(C)V#	⟶	#Cu~a-CV-(C)V#
#CV-CV-CV#	⟶	#Cu~a-Cu~a-CV#

Where the symbols signify: # word boundary, - syllable, C consonant, V vowel, ⟶ transformation, ~ alternate variant, and () silent, deleted.

Examples are:

V ⟶ /u/	V ⟶ /a/
busura (basura = garbage)	canfianza (confianza = confidence)
cumadre (comadre = comother)	chacá (chocar = hit)
dustancia (distancia = distance)	frascura (frescura = freshness)
fumilia (familia = family)	manuto (minuto = minute)
muntón-mantón (montón = a lot)	prablema (problema = problem)
suntímetro (centímetro = centimeter)	racibo-rucibo (recibo = receipt)
unstrumento (instrumento = instrument)	saguro (seguro = sure)

Harmonization:

cullujón (callejón = alley)	carasponde (corresponde = correspond)
nususudá (necesidad = necessity)	pandajada (pendejada = foolishness)
trubujando (trabajando = working)	caratea-curutea (corretea = chases)

The vowels /e/ and /o/ substitute for other vowels, and for each other, in the final position or in the last syllable when the preceding vowels remain unaffected in the base word.

Canonic shape: #CV-CV-CV# ⟶ #CV-CV-Ce-o#

Examples:

V ⟶ /e/	V ⟶ /o/
afuere (afuera = outside	ahoro (ahora = now)
chulete (chuleta = porkchop)	fuerzo (fuerza = force)
cueke (cueco = gay, homosexual)	diso (decir = to say)
díe (día = day)	nunco (nunca = never)
quite (quita = take away, remove)	sabo (saber = to know)

Another common morphophonemic change in the Congo play language is to reduce or simplify vowel clusters (diphthongs and triphthongs) and consonant clusters in the base language. This reflects a tendency to conform to the basic #CV-CV# cannonic shape of Spanish. Similarly, the phonemic distinction of /rr/ is dropped and simplified to /r/. Cannonic shapes and examples are:

#CV-CV-CV# ⟶ #CV-CV-CV#

curenta (cuarenta = forty)	racudo (racuerdo = memory, remember)
dusenta (doscientos = two hundred)	jóndeme-e (jondéame = throw me)

#CV-CCCV-CV# ⟶ #CV-CV-CV#

butucinco 'veinticinco = twenty)
cumpu (cumplo = comply)
lubón (ladrón = thief)
mata (maestra-o = teacher)
pi:ga-pringa (espina = spine)
mimito (mismito = same)

#CV-rrV-CV# ⟶ #CV-rV-CV#

curutera (carretera = road)
sarucho (serrucho = saw)
tarengo (terreno = terrain)
tera (tierra = land, earth)

There is, however, the tendency in the Congo play language to form the cluster of a consonant and /r/ by the addition or metathesis of the /r/ while simplifying all other consonant clusters. Canonic shapes and examples are:

#CV-CV-CV# ⟶ #CrV-CV-CV#; #CV-CrV-CV#

Addition of /r/:

brachinche (bochinche = gossip)
branco (banco =bank)
brambita (bombita = little bomb)
crambio (cambio = change)
craquite (poquito = a little bit)
Congro (Congo = Congo)
craso (casi = almost)
crosa (cosa = thing)
chacratite (chiquitito = small)
exprate (empate = tie, equal)
fructura (factura = bill, invoice)
grasto (gasto = expense)
praseando (paseando = strolling)
pravo (pavo = turkey)
pripa (pipa = green coconut)
rafrande (defender = defend)
raspransable (responsable = responsible)
safraca (sofocado = heated)

Metathesis of /r/:

croto (corto = short)
cambrasando (conversando = conversing)
frama (firma = signature)
frato (falta = miss)
raprato (reparto = distribution)
prasigue (persigue = chases)
tranillo (tornillo = screw)
ugrullo (orgullo = pride

The phonemic tendency for the use of the /r/ in the ritual-play language is also reflected in the substitution of /r/ for /l/. This is contrary to the base variety of Spanish and to the general tendency in Caribbean Spanish. In ordinary language, the reverse is the case; that is,

the substitution of /l/ for /r/ as in mielda for mierda (shit). The following canonic shapes and examples illustrate the the substitution:

#CV-lV-CV#; #CV-ClV# ⟶	#CV-rV-CV#; #CV-CrV#
diabro (diablo = devil, American nickel)	ravurición (revolución = revolution)
habrado (hablador = talker)	Surbino (Silvino = Silvine)
muriante (maleante = hoodlum)	buruntía (valentía = valor)

Additionally, the /r/ serves as a substitute for other consonants as in the following examples:

/b/ ⟶ /r/ Ruriano (Rubiano = male proper name)
/d/ ⟶ /r/ aruvino uruvino (adivino = diviner)
rufenza (defenza = defense)
orantina (hedentina = stench)
/k/ ⟶ /r/ sarao (sacado = taken out, pulled out)

Other additions, deletions, and substitutions in the ritual-play language indicate a pattern of nasalization. Examples are:

+/m/ mutena~mute (usted = you)
-{VC_} mucén (almacén = store)
/b/ ⟶ /m/ mandura (verdura = root crops)
/d/ ⟶ /m/ manere (dinero = money)
/n/ ⟶ /m/ masoto (nosotros = we us our)
/t/ ⟶ /m/ mambor (tambor = drum)
/s/ ⟶ /m/ mamere~mambrere (sombrero = hat)
/y/ ⟶ /m/ mamando (llamando = calling)
/b/ ⟶ /mb/ ambaja (abajo = down, below)
/p/ ⟶ /mp/ mamprada (espada = sword)
/mb/ ⟶ /m/ camiene (conviene = it is convenient)
/l/ ⟶ /n/ munducion~mandación (maldición = damnation)
angún (algún = some)
/ng/ ⟶ /n/ ponu~pono (pongo = I put)
/n/ ⟶ /ng/ caronga (corona = crown)
/g/ ⟶ /ng/ angaro (agarro = take, hold)

Additional morphophonemic changes are listed below:

/b/ ⟶ /w/~/gw/ wa (voy, vas, va = I~you go; she~he goes)
puragawa~purawa (palabra = word)

/d/	⟶ /gw/ /w/	migwa~miwa (mida = measure)
		nagwa~nawa (nada = nothing)
/jw/	⟶ /w/ /gw/	wayo~gweyo (juego = play, game)
/j/	⟶ /w/ /gw/	trawa~tragwa (trajo = brought)
/b/	⟶ /j/	jullaca (bellaco = rascal)
		cujalla (caballo = horse)
		cujellere (caballero = gentleman)
/d/	⟶ /j/	ajuruntao (adalantado = advanced)
		andojere (andándole = advanced)
/g/	⟶ /j/	janao (ganado = won)
		prajá (pagar = to pay)
/j/	⟶ /y/	cuneye (conejo = paca, a rodent)
		careyo (colegio = college, high school)
d/	⟶ /k/	waco (guardo = keep, store)
/p/	⟶ /k/	crakite (poquito = a little bit)

Although different morphophonemic changes may be effected simultaneously, the Congo ritual-play language reflects an overall morphophonemic tendency towards harmony and maintenance of the basic #CV-CV# canonic shape of Spanish. Examples are:

VC	⟶ CV	juruminga (hormiga = ant, symbolic name for children)
		juruprango~joroprango (aeroplano = airplane)
		deí (ahí = there)
		dikí (aquí = here)
		barachá (emborrachar = to get drunk)
		tratengo (entretenga = entertain, distract)

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The Congo play-ritual language has various, significant sociolinguistic implications.

The play-ritual language distinguishes the Afro-Hispanic population at the mouths of the rivers in north-central Panama from the upriver Hispanic-Indigenous people with whom they otherwise share a regional variety of Spanish that resulted from acculturation during Spanish colonialism. In other words, both groups share linguistic similarities due to Hispanic

acculturation, but they differ from each other due to their respective African and Indian cultural traditions. The ritual "Play of the Congos" and its language is an oral tradition embedded in the cultural matrix of African slavery in the Americas, reflecting social forces and social functions that arose from the encounter of African slaves with Europeans and Indians.

The play-ritual language is learned by children by the same sociolinguistic processes by which the base language is learned: hearing, seeing, imitating, memorizing, talking within a speech community. The adult players interact verbally with the common folk of the settlements, including the children. Even though the play-ritual language is used only once a year during the ritual season, this verbal interaction maintains alive a pragmatic understanding of the language among all members of the community. The fact that this knowledge is shared by all is reflected in the fact that different members of the community alternate each year in playing the roles. Older people who performed the roles in the past give oral instructions and demonstrate to younger players who replace them how to perform the basic roles Also, minor roles serve as training roles for major roles. Children, moreover, imitate the adult players and form play groups of their own, even though they are not officially recognized as players. Adults encourage the children in the play by making hats and swords for the boys, allowing girls to sing and dance in the ritual house, paying taxes to the children at barricades set up by the children, and contributing with food for the children.

Although the play-ritual language is meant to conceal meaning and create confusion, it allows for the services of an interpreter, Trepautene (Trepa Usted = Climb You). In the past, there were even three different players who served as interpreters. These were: Trepatoo (Trepa Todo = Climb All), who was the technical expert of the language and was usually at the exclusive service of the leading male player; Trepautú (Trepa Tú = Climb You), who served as the personal interpreter for the leading female player; and Trepa Trepa (Climb Climb), who interpreted anything that was not official and was at the service of any of the players.[8] The provision for an interpreter also occurs in the Australian Walbiri ritual language (Hale 1971:474). It is posited that the provision for an interpreter in-

dicates that there is a significant social message being transmitted and there must be an assurance that it is understood by the general public. In the case of the "Play of the Congos," the message is an historical narrative. It highlights the socio-economic condition of Afro-Hispanics within a restrictive socio-economic stratification.

The majority of the players nowadays have no conscious association between the play and an historical past. They do not even know that the mythological Gané-Guné (Guinea) from where the Nengre (Negros = Negroes) come every year is a geographical site in West Africa. The sequence of events, that are learned orally without a written script, are said to be performed for fun and to "pass the time" during the dry season and Carnival. These events, nevertheless, are metonyms that condense and affectively structure the historical narrative so that the participants, players and spectators, can personally identify with the events in a metaphoric process (Smith 1975). Although referring back to something that happened in the past, the metonymic process extends into the present and future and becomes a metaphoric process by which one takes the metonym and associates it with something else, most often with oneself and one's own condition (ibid:100).

The degrading socio-economic status of the Afro-Hispanics is reversed in the play and raised exponentially by two distinct sociolinguistic tactics. First, numerical value is doubled or exaggerated in the play-ritual language. The socio-economic significance of numbers is climactically highlighted on the last day of Carnival when the players become mensurators of the land and tax collectors, exaggerating the measures of houses and public buildings. Secondly, entities within a similar classificatory category are contrasted hierarchically and qualitatively to expand words into a higher, wider plane of meaning. For example, in the play-ritual language "sleeping" is referred to as "dreaming." This emphasizes the metaphysical qualities of sleep. It also allows for an affective identification with an unrestrictive dream world.

Semantic and syntactic processes in the Congo play-ritual language suggest links with Creole and West African languages. The etymology of important socio-ecological words, like ñimi-ñimi (food) and jibre (river) in the play-ritual language correspond to similar words in Creole and West African languages. The Congo play-ritual language preposes a particle before verbs to connote continuous aspect or to serve as a verb

marker, as occurs in Caribbean Creole and West African languages. Reduplication and grammatical reduction likewise show similarities with Creole and West African languages. Morphophonemic patterns in the Congo play-ritual language also suggest correspondences with the Spanish-based Creole of the inhabitants of the Palenque de San Basilio in northern Colombia (Bickerton and Escalante 1970). It is, therefore, suggested that future research should compare the language of the Congo players in Panama with the Palenquero Creole of Colombia. Morphophonemic patterns and tendencies in the language of the Congo players could contribute further evidence on the process of creolization and pidginization of languages (Hymes 1977).

When compared and contrasted with other play and ritual languages, the Congo language is particularly significant. As occurs in play languages (Sherzer 1976), the Congo language alters the morphophonemic structure of the base language by means of additions, deletions, substitutions, and metathesis. It also operates at the level of underlying semantic contrasts as in the ritual language of the Walbiri of central Australia (Hale 1971). In fact, while the Congo language shares features with what have been called "play" languages (Sherzer 1976), like the tjiliwiri of the Australian Walbiri (Hale 1971) it is at the same time a ritual language because of its use in a ritual. This suggests that the common children's play languages can be interpreted as a ritual process in everyday life (Sherzer, personal communication). Ordinary play languages may create a state of "liminality," a hiatus in the humdrum of everyday life, and bind the players as a group in a ritual community or "communitas" as defined by Turner (1977).

In the Congo play-ritual language, semantic content takes precedence over morphophonemic structure. Although certain morphophonemic changes are made, the basic #CV-CV# canonic shape of words, vowel harmony, and the syntactic structure of Spanish remain essentially the same. This allows for the symbolic meaning of words and sentences to prevail in order to facilitate transmission of the historical narrative. The greater value of the semantic content is exemplified by the symbolic names of the players who enact roles represented by the names. Either for their performance value or for the purpose of deceiving outsiders, this symbolic naming suggests similarities with patterns of name use in other Afro-American populations (Price and Price 1972). Mathematical formulas used to alter numeric values are in reality conveying a semantic, socio-cultural content

of economic degradation. The Congo language, therefore, in its ritual function expresses more the human love for symbolism than the fun of playing with the morphophonemic structure of a language. The Congo language, nevertheless, is both a ritual and a play language and, perhaps, also a type of Creole.

The "Play of the Congos" in Panama has already contributed to a wealth of information in academic studies: folklore (Cheville and Cheville 1977; Cheville and Hassan de Llorente 1978; Franceschi 1970; George 1972; Zárate, D.P. 1971; and Zárate M.F. 1962); ethnomusicology (Smith 1973); history (De la Guardia 1977); theatrical drama (De la Rosa 1978); linguistics (Segura 1978); ecological adaptation and ritual (Drolet, P. 1978; 1980); acculturation (Joly 1979b). The "Play of the Congos" is all of these, and still has much more to contribute to our understanding of the human condition. Above all, it has offered Afro-Hispanics in Panama a means of ethnic identification. For all these reasons, and because it is fun, beautifully spectacular, and symbolically rich, it is hoped that the Negre (Negros = Negroes), as the players call themselves, may continue performing their play and speaking their language for many more sumana (semana = week); of course, meaning years.

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NOTES

1. Excerpt from the cassette recording of a dialogue between Birdie (Fidel Delgado) and Airplane (Ismael Segura) of Miguel de la Borda, District of Donoso, Province of Colon, Republic of Panama, on Monday of Carnival, February 1980.
2. The data used in this analysis are based on participant observation, cassette recordings, and interviews with informants during the 1979 and 1980 Congo seasons in these settlements. Duplicate cassette recordings of excerpts cited in this paper are being deposited at the Museo del Hombre Panameño (Museum of the Panamanian Man) in Panama, Republic of Panama; and at the Linguistics Lab of the Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, United States of America. This work was part of a socio-cultural anthropological research along the Rio Indio, in this region. The research was sponsored in the United States of America by a 19-month Inter-American Foundation Learning Fellowship on Social Change in Latin America and the Caribbean, and in the Republic of Panama by institutional affiliation with the Directorate of Historical Patrimony of the National Institute of Culture, the Catholic University of Santa María la Antigua, and the Apostolic Vicarate of Darién. I assume responsibility for this work without implicating these institutions.
3. In Brazil, where scholars have correlated the festivities honoring African deities with the feast days of saints in the Catholic liturgical calendar, Saint Sebastian whose feast day the Catholic liturgy celebrates on January 20 corresponds to the African Abalu-aie in whose honor there is festive playing of the drums of Xango, the most prestigious divinity who controls the rivers, rains, tempests, and travails (Araújo 1973:36).
4. The songs are sung by the women in the base language, not the play language. For texts of the songs see Zárate, M.F. (1962); Zárate, D.P. (1971); and Smith (1973).
5. For descriptions of the dance see Cheville and Cheville (1977) and Cheville and Hassan de Llorente (1978).
6. At Boca de Río Indio, men and women now in their 70's and 80's say that they learned during the first quarter of this century how to perform the

play and speak the language from a man named Simeon Pacheco. He is described as being a "bishop," who coordinated and supervised the ritual performances in several settlements of the Down Coast. It is said that he had made a promise to a saint to deep alive this tradition. Pacheco resided, and is buried, in Piña, where he relocated in the 1910's after his birthplace of old Chagres at the mouth of the Chagres River was evacuated by the Panama Canal Company as a preventive measure should flooding occur from spills of the Gatun Dam.

7. At Miguel de la Borda, children are officially recognized as players during Carnavalito (Little Carnival) on the weekend following the Shrovetide. During that weekend, the children form a complete ritual community, supported and assisted by the adults. Some roles are directly inherited; for example, the son of the 1980 John of God-Drunkard assumed the role of his father, using his father's crown and wooden sword-bush-knife.
8. It is not clear why all three roles were condensed in the present single role of Trepautene (Trepa Usted = Climb You). Roles and events, however, have been dropped and added through time. These additions and deletions sometimes reflect local situations. For example, the death of the man who played the role of Matuanga (the Old Man of the Woods) at Boca de Río Indio is the cause attributed to the discontinuation of this role and the events associated with this role at this settlement.

CARIBBEAN SEA
GATUN LAKE
OBSERVATION SITES
REPUBLIC OF PANAMA
80°W
9°N
COLOMBIA
COSTA RICA
PANAMA
R. Indio
R. Chagres
R. Trinidad
R. Uracillo
R. Cirí
R. Cascajal
R. Coclé del Norte
R. Cobre
R. Caimito
R. Lajas
R. Petaquilla
R. Palmilla
R. Pequeni
R. Veraguas
R. Caño Quebrado
R. Chucunaque
R. Tuira
R. Sucio
R. Mono
R. Iglesias
R. Hacha
R. Tabasará
R. Caterina
R. Coclé del Norte
R. Miguel de la Borda
R. Miguel de la Borda
R. Indio
R. Chagres
Boca de Río Indio
Río Indio
Río Indio
Río Miguel de la Borda
Río Coclé del Norte
Río Caimito
Río Petaquilla
Río Palmilla
Río Veraguas
Río Caño Quebrado
Río Chucunaque
Río Tuira
Río Sucio
Río Mono
Río Iglesias
Río Hacha
Río Tabasará
Río Caterina
Río Coclé del Norte
Río Miguel de la Borda
Río Indio
Río Chagres
Río Indio
Río Cirí
Río Trinidad
Río Uracillo
Río Cascajal
Río Coclé del Norte
Río Cobre
Río Lajas

TABLE I

SYMBOLIC NAMES OF CONGO PLAYERS

FEMALE PLAYERS

Macé-Micé-Mecé (María-Merced = Mary of Mercy)
Ravellín (Revellín = Ravelin)
Cundulilla (Candelilla = Fire Ant)
Llaronga (Llorona = Wailer)
Calebra (Culebra = Snake)
Minina (Mi Niña = My Girl)
Fabiana (Fabiana = Fabian, fem)
Macha (Macho = Male)

MALE PLAYERS

Barachate (Borrachute-Juan de Dioso = Drunkard-John of God)
Barachatite (Borrachito-Juan de Diosito = Little Drunkard-Little John of God)
Pujurete (Pajarito = Birdie)
Juruprango (Aeroplano = Airplane)
Trepautene (Trepa Usted = Climb You)
Purucinga (Policía = Police)
Unjunero (Ingeriero = Engineer)
Burucuntoo (Barre con Todo = Sweeps All)
Maca-Maca (Masca-Masca = Chew Chew)
Cararao (Colorado = Red)
Marajencia (Diligencia = Business Errand)
Mañeque (Meñique = Little Finger)
Muchuta (Machete = Bushknife)
Rulúmpago (Relámgapo = Lightening)
Mema-Mema (Lleva-Lleva = Take-Take)
Habrado (Hablador = Talker)
Aruvino (Adivino = Diviner)
Cuneye (Conejo = Paca, a rodent)
Prabo (Pavo = Turkey)
Gullunazo (Gallinazo = Buzzard)
Chuva (Chivo = Goat)
Tugrillo (Tigrillo = Wild Cat)
Manao (Venado = Deer)
Curudilla (Coloradilla = Red Bug)
Gurupata (Garrapata = Tick)
Cujalla (Caballo = Horse)
Munkí (Monkey = Monkey)
Mutuanga (Matuanga = Old Man of the Woods)
Trayana (Troyano = Captain Troyano)
Manceila (Doncella = Maiden)
Mundución (Maldición = Damnation)
Frastero (Forestero = Foreigner)

Nengre (Negros = Negroes) is the collective name by which the players call themselves and emphatically refuse to be called Congro (Congo) which they say is a fish.

Marané-Bajamundo (Holandés~Vagabundo = Dutch Vagabond) is anyone who is not a player, and teases the players.

NOTE: This is a collective list of names of players in Río Indio, Gobea, and Miguel de la Borda, north-central Panama, in the 1979 and 1980 Congo seasons. All names do not occur in each settlement. Other names have been reported for northeastern Panama (Drolet, P. 1978, 1980).

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